

[Chaco Period] Terena

the *subirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black.

616
796
302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*waherashane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

565

[582]

881

565

622

[292]

[562]

[554]

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

565

[641]

567

565

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers.

616

701

726

554

[534]

[292]

[239]

[Chaco Period]

Terepa

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *601*
imaongo and mother's brother's wife *yenoluku*.

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomisé* and his sisters' husbands *oned*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungena* and her sisters' husbands *enomisé*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally monogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. There was no strict rule of residence, the young couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. There was no mother-in-law or father-in-law avoidance. *582* *595* *591* *606*

The above is a general description of the social organization of the Terena while they were in the Chaco. How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin. *105* *177* *[847]*

[Post Chaco Period] Terena

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178
182
596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178
182
601
[829]
[191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178
182
616
[582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101
929

G 130 cont. /

175

648

[114]

Florestan Fernandes,
1952:248-272; in his foot-
notes, this author provides
a selected bibliography.

G

M

175

648

[115]

Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this
subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the
Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have
been making them small offerings for some time. In so far
as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the
Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on
kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms
or conquest. ..." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some

G

[172]

[162]

[122]

31. 1910. II:266.

Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or
captains married according to their fashion Guaná women
caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women
died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants
of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

G

[116]

32. Idem., I:267.

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a
few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at
first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that
the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyolola women
caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own;
since then they have regarded them as such." (33) And be it

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these
vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

Terena

Mbayá SK11

/35 cont. /

Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equinquinao... is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;

cf. 1943:132-133.

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311.

In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layána words. The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quinquinaus are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

149 cont./

[Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
 535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
 178 Xumono and Sukirikiono still regulated strictly secular festivals
 such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses."
 We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the com-
 position of the "Harará-iti" and "Honono-iti" groups the Xumono
 and Sukirikiono distinctions were not respected. This means
 that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the
Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowa-
 days in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that
 still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties
 no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.

[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
 [162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossi-
 ble for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation
 of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and play-
 ful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the
 process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-
 Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are
 deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by
 the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters,
 in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
 601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find
 that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male
 or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.

601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
 602 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's
 generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
 [120] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidental-
 ly, permits us to classify the Guanã-Terêna kinship system as

/50 cont. /

[Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely

597

178

[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terena kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[12]

it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally, to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan war--as we shall see in the next chapter--when these aldeas were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form. Finally, we can say that the ancient Guanã appear to have been matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terena incline toward bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guanã-Terena social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

595

591

178

128

771

[75]

[75]

For giving us an outline of Guanã religion, the chroniclers /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guanã "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.

81. Idem: 240.

/118 cont. /

178 structure over a two-fold, symmetrical one, could not survive
571 after the dispersal of the Terena and the resulting disorganiza-
[60] tion of the local groups. We should also add to this the kin-
• [582] ship system itself, which, thanks to the unity of the "sibling"
group, made even much more difficult the survival of the
tribal organization, insofar as it reduced considerably the
marriage possibilities, already so limited by the strata. In
the face of this, it can be said that such a structure is rigid,
as opposed to the flexible type mentioned by the members of
the Seminar on Acculturation when they refer to the possibility
of a typological differentiation of the internal structures of
cultural systems. (188)

188. Social Science Re-
search Council, 1954:976-
977.

177 The counterpart of the disappearance of the old social
571 structure was the adoption of an associative system, still vague,
but which emerged from the neo-Brazilian communities that
formed along the paths of the pioneering settlers. Monogamy,
the nuclear family as a dwelling unit, greater freedom in the
choice of a spouse, and the compadrio system, for example,
were cultural complexes incorporated into the tribal culture
178 that transformed completely the traditional way of life. But
571 not even by this did the Terena lose their "tribal consciousness,"
619 even though it had been traumatized by the breakdown of the
old infra-structure and by its dislocation from the old value
system, its religion, and its mythology. At least those Terena
who remained in their aldeas, or who reorganized into rela-
tively autonomous communities (such as those of group (b)
had land on which to live and to cultivate, and as a result
could have a group life and thus keep alive /119/ the "tribal
we" and postpone indefinitely their assimilation into Brazilian
society.

/121 cont. /

369

/62

As for this aspect, it can be said that, of the total urbanized population, 53.71 per cent are mestizos (a) and (b); at present in Cachoeirinha, the index of mestizos (a) and (b) is scarcely 16.31 per cent.

369

162

• 882

The /122/ importance of this will be examined in the next chapter, when we shall deal with interethnic unions as the preferential type of marriage in the cities.

369

/67

The analysis of the origin of this urbanized population, as a whole, discloses that the fazendas are the greatest sources of individuals for the cities, with 23.55 per cent; in second place is the aldeia of Bananal, with 13.63 per cent, and in third place, the aldeia of Ipegue, with 10.33 per cent. The percentage of persons born in the cities themselves is 33.05 per cent, and the rest of the population originated from small settlements such as Agaxi or Taunay and from aldeas like Lalima and Brejão, whose individual totals are very low and represent insignificant indices. If we bear in mind the low percentage of individuals born in the urban zones (33.05 per cent) as compared with the 66.94 per cent of people who came from the rural zone or from the aldeas, we can conclude that this urbanized population is relatively new. And regarding the Terêna who emigrated from the aldeas, one notes that they tend to keep up their respective local groups, forming more or less cohesive nuclei in the cities where they live. In Aquidauana, for example, this separation is clear: aside from Aldeinha--which is suburban to the town--the Terêna live in two other places called respectively "Guanandi" and "Buraco Quente /hot hole/"; whereas in the former there live 11 persons who came from Ipegue and only one who came from Bananal, in the latter there live 10 persons from Bananal

167

369

621

* /133 cont. /

177 3. A third order of convergent factors can be found on
 582 the plane of family organization, through interethnic marriage
 563 and the compadrio system. In the last chapter we saw the
 557 high index of interethnic mestizos in the cities, in relation
 369 to the index of intertribal mestizos. On comparing these
 562 indices with those obtained for the aldeia population (particularly,
 Cachoeirinha), we found that the proportion was reversed in
 such a way that it led us to diagnose the present tendency of
 marriage in the urban zones. What is seen is a tendency on the
 part of the urbanized population to contract unions with indi-
 viduals of another ethnic origin /etnia/, especially on the part
 of the women who regard a "Purutuya" husband as a means of
 bettering their pattern of living. In the interviews carried out
 in the cities and in the aldeas suburban to them, such as
 Aldeinha, Passarinho, and Moreira (as in Limão Verde as well,
 but because of its multiple ethnic composition), one finds this
 expectation on the woman's part, nurtured by such conclusive
 examples as the occurrence of satisfactory marriages made by
 177 their women friends. When it comes to men it seems to be
 582 more difficult, and even when a marriage occurs, it is nearly
 563 always contracted with a colored woman. It cannot be denied
 369 that barriers created by prejudice make interethnic unions
 562 difficult, especially when the men are Indians. But, on the
 other hand, and this is what we must bear in mind, the Terêna
 man does not improve his situation by marrying a "civilizada,"
 regardless of her color. (203) On the contrary. Generally this

203. The only woman of
 another ethnic origin for
 whom the young Terêna
 shows obvious enthusiasm
 is a Japanese. On the
 basis of the experiences
 of some /Terêna men/
 who worked in Japanese

/133 cont. /

* 177

● 582

563

369

562

[54]

[24]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldeia Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

* 177 situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldeia and takes his wife
 582 there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in
 563 addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city
 369 (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to
 562 cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order
 [57] to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 The widening of the family network by means of the
 688 compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommo-
 557 dation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy
 [120] privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the
 [25] time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

/149 cont. /

162
619
369

as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.) This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

* 177
369
565

enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

[361]

The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

* 177
369
582
562
563

A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in forming families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

* /149 cont. /

* 177 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to
349 convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty
572 encountered by the Terena male in winning a non-Indian woman.
562 The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the
563 "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low
standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage,
when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence
of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point
of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also
true that it covers only one populational category, namely,
the female sex. The marriageable male population is com-
pelled to remain connected as much as possible with their
communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives.
One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both
are Terena) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals
[626] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially
those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only
on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular
relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly
find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood
here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters)
without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the
"Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered,
it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with
interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation
of their children and of themselves.

* 177 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation
182 of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how
571 these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process.
[156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of
contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones),
there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the
individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence
in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc....
If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

/40 cont. /

602

1- (cont.)

601

mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé. -- In my

[114]

work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602

604

[178]

[593]

father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.

● 582

622

622

591

While the people always marry within the village and the
husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
of the house; chief's children only marry among themselves or,
when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602]

[601]

1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that

622

602

the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalíkf's mother's
father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalíkf's father,
who was called Ečiviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older

[59]

(see below). Since however, all of Himuná's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečiviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečiviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Wahéré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under these circumstances the children received the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized. [84]

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Wahéré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena. 616
611
565

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b: 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios, [124]

616
611
565

which indicates the variation of intensity of the deculturative forces at work within the tribe.

565
582
588

It would be wrong, however, to conclude from this that the stratum system disappeared soonest as a regulative force in marriage. To the contrary, while the strata were rapidly forgotten by the people as a whole, they were not forgotten by the group which had an interest in

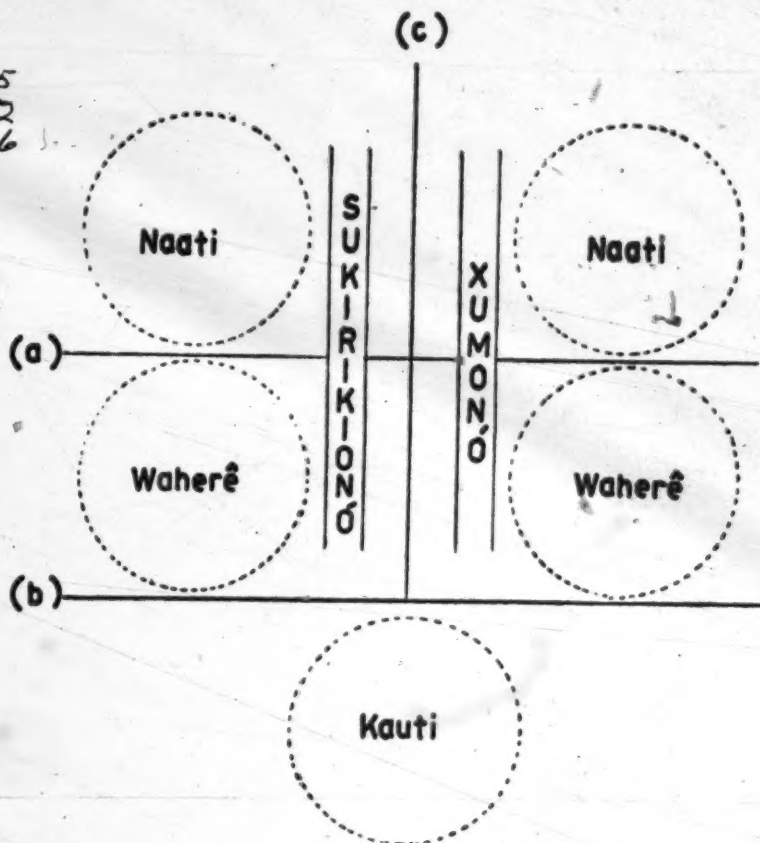


Figure II

This diagram illustrates the segmentation of Terena social structure, resultant from the endogamy of the moieties and the strata: the dividing lines (a), (b), and (c) compartmentalize the social structure into five areas in which marriage is possible, as indicated by the dotted circles.

maintaining its social superiority, namely the Naati. One of the incidents most frequently mentioned by the Terena occurred in 1910, and illustrates the vitality of the threefold, asymmetrical structure. A Waheré-Txané family asked the hand of a Naati girl in marriage to one of their own young men, since the two were very much in love. The grandmother of the girl (mother of her mother) refused to give her consent on the grounds that the suitor was not a Naati. She finally gave in at the insistence of her own family: her son-in-law (father of the girl) had his wife intercede with her mother (the girl's grandmother) pleading that having to feed three daughters was too much for him. Some conclusions can be drawn from this incident: 1) the importance of the women in a Terena family, being as it were the guardian of tribal tradition (a number of examples support this observation); 2) a situation typical of the transitional state of the strata; 3) the important place of the old people in the Terena social system, almost suggesting the possibility of a gerontocracy (the retention of power by old people in the modern "Village Councils" is pertinent to this hypothesis).¹⁰ There are Naati families in Cachoerinha that continue to maintain the endogamy of the stratum marrying by preference solely from among the stratum and with difficulty tolerate a marriage of one their stratum with a Waheré-Txané.

[562]

[888]

This brings us to the conclusion that, while the dual, symmetrical structure has disappeared as a regulatory element in marriage, remembered now only as a "ceremonial principle", the threefold, asymmetrical structure, while remembered by relatively few, continues to have a certain effect precarious at best, in the regulation of marriage of the Naati as a social in-group.

4. Warrior Heroes—The Xuna-Xati

The dynamic of the threefold structure depended upon the Xuna-Xati. According to the interpretation of Oberg (1948: 284, 1949: 28-29), the Xuna-Xati represented a social "class" midway between the Naati and the Waheré. This interpretation appears to us to be unfounded, since both the Naati and the Waheré, as well as the Kauti, could become Xuna-Xati by having *killed an enemy in battle*. Xuna-Xati represented, then the *killer*, the warrior who distinguished himself on the battlefield by killing an adversary. The Terena recount that, after having killed an enemy, the warrior put his foot on the chest of

565
555

¹⁰ The "Village Council" an institution created by the Indian Protective Service, was at first composed entirely of Naati individuals, taking advantage of the prestige of the elders in order to have a greater voice in the communities. Later certain prominent Waheré-Txané in each local group were accepted.

[623
177]

565
555
[701]

the fallen man, and blew a horn. This both announced his triumph and claimed for himself the title of Xuna-Xati. "War Chiefs" were recruited from the social group formed by the Xuna-Xati, i. e., from this group of "decorated" warriors, without regard for *social* or *ethnic* background. It was, however, infrequent for a Kauti who was also a Xuna-Xati to be named a "War Chief", according to our informants. He would have had to be exceptional indeed to compete with the powerful group of Xuna-Xati who were Terena by birth. It appears that this "chieftainship" was retained by the Naati/Xuna-Xati or by the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, which demonstrates that the *ethnic* line was harder to cross than was the *social* line, in Terena society (cf. Figure III).

Naati

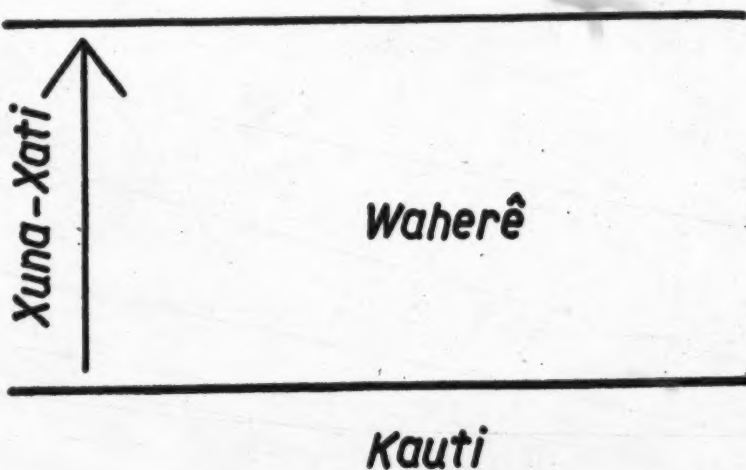


Figure III

● 582
565
557

The role played by the institution of the Xuna-Xati in the matrimonial sphere was extremely important. It succeeded in breaking stratum endogamy which, in structural terms, seemed absolute. The Kauti/Xuna-Xati came to have the right to marry Waheré women (Waheré-Seenó), just as the Waheré/Xuna-Xati could marry a Naati woman (Naati-Seenó). Thus a man of an inferior stratum could seek a wife from the next superior stratum. Although there was apparently nothing

in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Naati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mechanisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of “War Chief”, function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the “Chiefs of the People”, i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is attested to by the differential status accorded the “War Chiefs” and the “Chiefs of the People”. The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Wahéré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.¹¹ The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a “War Chief”. He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of birth for being selected “Chief of the People”. We should note here that in each local Terena group there was a single “Chief of the People” and a single “War Chief”.

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold asymmetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodating the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Wahéré) in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Wahéré Xumono woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumono and in daughters that were Wahéré-Seenó/Xumono. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Wahéré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

¹¹ If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Wahéré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

582
565
557

[554]

[622]
[701]

565
554
611
851

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the local groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Whether or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.¹² As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

¹² Today this type of marriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

582
[587]

835
773

601

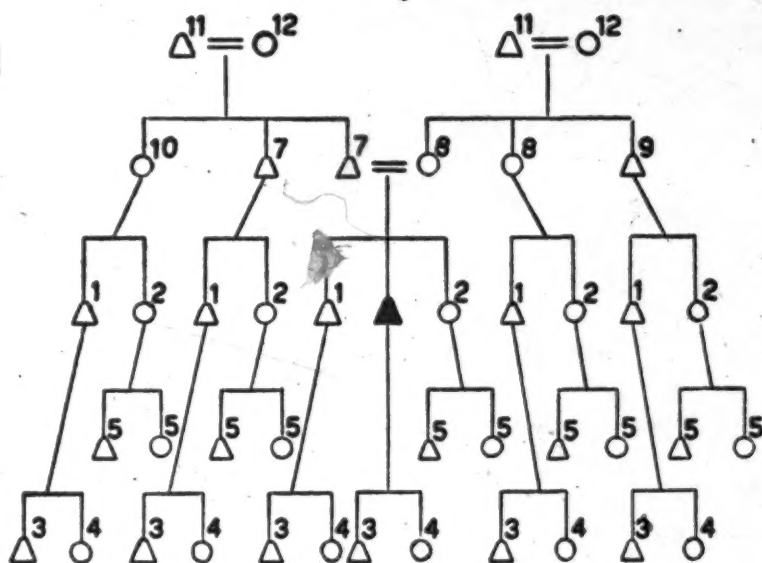


Figure V

(1) Anđi, (2) Mongetzá, (3) Dje-á, (4) Inainé, (5) Nevongé, (6) Amori, (7) Zaa, (8) Eno, (9) Eungo, (10) Oongo, (11) Onsu, (12) Onse. All of the numbered terms, composing the consanguineous kinship system, are elemental in their linguistic structure, and are employed as terms of reference. These were the two criteria used in filling out our list of the kinship terminology. Nevertheless there are certain discrepancies to be found in comparing this with that published by Oberg and Altenfelder Silva: With relation to the maternal uncle (9) and paternal aunt (10), they preferred the descriptive terms Ayo-Eno and Mongetzá. Zaa, which mean "brother of mother" and "sister of father" (noting that Ayo is the term for "brother" when Ego is feminine); while Oberg prefers the name Ayo-Eno. Altenfelder Silva links Ayo with the address term Lulu "uncle". It is noted, further, that father's brothers and mother's sisters are called respectively by the address term Taata "father" and Meene "mother", in the same fashion as the biological father and mother. The kinship system also makes a distinction between older brother (Enjovi) and younger brother (Anđi), when Ego is masculine.

835
773

man liked his sister-in-law (we are transcribing faithfully the words of the informant). His sister-in-law died, and the old man, named Viily, buried her in the cemetery. Then the armadillo came and rooted

were much criticized by the community. They avoid public reference to their case, although they live in the same house and form an economic unit.

[587]

6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582
565
616

The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, strateresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115]
[198]

On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and without a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenó). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182
571

Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati group. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the

/89 cont. /

- 582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunkenness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

- 784 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

- 765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons. When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he

766
622
428